WASHINGTON, D. C.

ness of the paper or for publication, should be ad-

With these words alone upon its titlepage, greatly mistake its character, is destined to from the heart. reate an interest in the literary world second power, a reserved force, on the part of its au- song of the nightingale at twilight: thor, which makes the present performance, great as we feel it is, seem but the prelude to something yet higher and nobler. Several of the best poems in the book have their origin in the writer's memories of a winter's residence in Rome. With a deep and passionate appreciation of that ancient capital of the Pagan and Christian world, and fully alive to all its moral and classical associations, the writer does not, like too many modern pilgrims thitherward, overlook, in admiration of art and With sturdy limbs fed fat in idleness, which form their grim background. No There stretched for alms, that busy with deceit, American, who understands the actual state | Who trails from door to door his beggary, of things in the Papal Territory, can fail to Devoutest praying where the housewife's fair." sympathize with the indignation and scorn and paty which by turns blaze or wail through Even to the Ghetto of the hated Jew. these poems. Rome is unquestionably, at this In his poor synagogue's simplicity moment, the worst governed State of Europe. Socially, politically, morally, and spiritually, it is the scandal and opprobrium of Christendom, a standing libel on the religion of Jesus. A Government of spies and priests, propped by foreign bayonets, and resting on the dungeons of thirty thousand political prisoners dying by inches in their living tombs, there is for the republican or the Christian who contemplates it no other alternative than silence or anathema. The repeated denunciation by the Roman Inquisition of the Romance of Harriet Beecher Stowe, as heretical, seditions, and damnable, is a gratifying evidence of the uneasy consciousness, on the part of Ecclesiastical Despotism, of its weakness and insecurity. Light from every quarter is dreaded; the triple mail of the Great Falsehood is vulnerable to the smallest arrow of Truth. Even the arts of painting and sculpture-the lures which the harlot and enchantress offers to all who approuch her-may be found in the end dangerous to her existence. Travellers tell us that while with scarcely an exception, the galleries, both public and private, of the city and its environs, are thrown freely open to inspection, that of the Villa Ludovise is jealously guarded and is to be seen only by means of a written

of Slavery-Uncle Tom and the Declaration of Independence in marble! Let the Holy As a specimen of the intense power and passionate earnestness of the writer, when dealing with whatever outrages her sense of right, and conflicts with her moral and religious convicof the poem entitled "From Newport to Rome." She represents herself in the midst of the fash-She represents herself in the midst of the fashion and folly of the great Northern wateringplace at the time of the overthrew of the Roman Republic, and as constrained to break in upon the music and dancing with her startling of foolscap have been written over, until it upon the music and dancing with her startling description of the final struggle of the doomed city against the combined forces of Papal Despolism. The picture is fearfully vivid :

permission from its princely owner; for there

may be seen a collossal group-a stalwart bar-

barian stabbing himself with his right hand,

kating himself and his wife, to avoid the doom

amidst classic forms, pale gods of heath

The rich must own the hidden hoard. The brave are butchered where they stand. And maidens seek at altar-shrines

His flying quarry through the street; And the grim scaffold, one by one, Flings bloody morsels for his meat.

Were Death the worst, the patriot's hymn Would ring triumphant in mine ears; But pangs more exquisite await

Pale faces pressed to prison bars Grow sick and agonize with life. And firm lips quiver when the guard Thrusts rudely back some shricking wife

There women gathering on the sward, I see them, helpful of each other; The matron soothes the maiden's heart, The girl supports the trembling mother

Greetings that sobs and spasms mother And 'O, my son' the place resounds,

And souls are wed in nobleness, That ne'er shall mingle human breath; Love's seed in holy purpose sown, Love's hope in God's and Nature's faith.

That flecks with shame the stately dome

Ta'en from a Roman, whom we slow, keeping the threshold of his home. 'And ye delight in idle tunes.

And are content to jig and dance. When even the holy Marseillaise

Calls on the traitor wrath and hate And not a wine-cup which ye raise Is darkened by the victim's fate

The anguish of the Mother world? Oh, hush! the waltz is gay,' they said And all their gauzy wings unfurled.

Restrain so long your heedless haste; Hearken how pregnant is the time
le tear to threads or fling to waste.

Through sluggish centuries of growth The thoughtless world might vacant wait But now the busy hours crowd in,

The kinship of his human blood;

With fuller pulse let every heart well to high pangs of brotherhood

Earnest, beneath the Christ-like bond, Strike this deep question home to men: Thy brothers perish-idlest there?

Whisper the boy whom they caress Learn from these arms, that circle thee

For the brave world is given to us,

Which bleeding generations reap Oh, world! oh, time! oh, heart of Christ

Lest wicked hands should sow the thorns

Oh, heart betrayed and sold anew

All times are one to such as you.

Akin to these Tyrtæan stanzas, uniting feminine pathos with masculine vigor, are a "Protest from Italy" and "Whit-Sunday in the and with no acknowledgment of authorship, Church." The animus of the entire volume is Tickner, Reed, & Fields, of Boston, have just the Democracy of Christianity. It has the issued a volume of poems, which, if we do not deeply-earnest tone of one whose utterances are

We can only find place in this notice for a only to that produced by the sudden appari- few of the striking and felicitous passages in tion of Alexander Smith, the Glasgow poet, a the volume before us. There is a description few months ago. The book is not only re- of the writer's introduction to the orange markable in itself, but it indicates a latent groves of Villa Massimo, at twilight, and the

-"Virgin flowers They filled the air with incense gathered up For the pale vesper of the evening star, Nor failed the rite of meet antiphony-I feit the silence holy, till a note Fell as a sound of ravishment from heaven-Fell as a star fulls trailing round for light. The pictures, in the poem just quoted, of the Christian Priest and the Jew, at Rome, are very striking.

beauty, the terrible social and political evils | Whose hands hate labor as his brain hates thought,

--- " Roll back thy chariot wheels Accounted for religious revelry. His Rabbi nothing adds nor takes away, Nothing assumes of mystic right or power, But gives the ancient, venerable word, With cautious lips and emphasis devout, Intent on reading as his fathers read,) As if believing it, not he, should teach. He has the oracles that Jesus loved, Though suffering still Tradition's jealous hand To bind too closely o'er the face of Truth The wil of Oriental tracery, Which that serene One smilingly looks through, Sure of her own and God's eternity.'

We give a few more brief, random extracts "Mirrors and diamonds flash the brilliance back And night is only in Italian eyes, Which take in light as the stars give it out.

"And that high suffering which we dread, A higher joy discloses; Men saw the thorns on Jesus' brove, But angels saw the roses.' "My children, living flowers shall come

And strew with seed this grave of thine, And bid the blushing growths of Spring Thy dreary painted cross entwine. 'Thus Faith, east out of barren creeds, Shall rest in omblems of her own :

Beauty, still springing from Decay,

The cross-wood budding to the crown.' A word as to the author. Rumor corroborates the internal evidence afforded by the book tinguished professional gentleman and philanculture have been so well known to her friends, while his left supports his dying wife, sinking as to exempt them from any surprise at their it his feet. It is the man and the husband manifestation in her "Passion Flowers."

GERMANY AND ENGLAND-NO. 1.

We Germans are a patient people; and this patience has been most signally exhibited, through the almost unbroken silence with which we have stood the self-glorifications tions, we give some of the concluding stanzas which have characterized nearly every historical article on England, which has appeared with reference to the primitive institutions of

looks like a desperate undertaking to remind American readers that to full one-third of the white population of this country, there is a "Germany" and a "Fatherland." Still more daring must it be to assert, as I now do, that, in the words of one of my old professors, Anglo-Saxonism and English liberty very often are

"Mere phrases"-" Verba sunt." In your paper of the 10th January, a gentleman from London has these words occurring in his article:
"True it is, that Germany had its Diets,

Spain and Portugal their Cortes, France its States General; but the existence of all of them was ephemeral. The Parliament of England has never ceased to exist, except during the transient interregnum of Cromwell, and it may fairly claim the credit of having sustained the political spirit of Europe, and contributed to

In your paper of the 11th instant, he again

"In the United States a great experiment is being tried, in the science of Government, and Europe anxiously looks at every moveme its various platforms. But how can the true Democrat, however gifted and sincere, perfect his own institutions, unless he has carefully traced the errors of monarchies and aristocraies? And where will he find more instruction

than in the history of the race from which his forefathers sprung?"

If the latter clause means, as it undoubtedly does, that English history, in particular, is to be the text book of our studies, I join issue, unless indeed it be with a view to avoiding nearly every shade of their Government; for then I agree Might not some one in reply to Anglicanism, assert that in every case, excepting a few only, in which we have followed England, we have gone wrong, while the most suc-cessful steps of reform we have ever made in this country were those in which we abolished something English? Nay, might he not go further, and assert that every American statesman in the United States, to whom Eng-lish institutions have been a model, has gone, or will go, to his grave a doomed man? And, or will go, to his grave a doomed man? again, might he not point to the history of the United States, and affirm that the statesmen whose names live and will live brightest in the memory of our people, are those which never lost their Americanism in reading Blackstone, and for whom the continent of Europe had opened its fountains of wisdom? And if called upon to give instances for the foregoing affirmations, he might name the English organization of our regular army. Ditto, navy, including ocean steamships; and to English common law, or chancery procedure, in courts. Need he remind you, that the few germs of the English Colonial System, which have crept into our Territorial System, are especially the sending amongst them of politicians for Governo

and Judges, &2, we all call the worst part of Where are the English notions of protective tariffs, navigation laws, national banks, of game laws, &c.? Where are, in public estimaion, Hamilton or Webster? Has any man tion, Hamilton or Webster? Has any man left a deeper impress upon our institutions than Jefferson, and at what fountains did he get his knowledge? Our political axis is our Federal system, and what can we learn about it in England? Is it not the great vice of our Supreme Court, that, in all its decisions, it has looked to English precedents and to English courts. Those decisions were made, as applicable to an English system of Government: cable to an English system of Governo but is it uncourteous to our judges to suppose that, having learned their law at English combeneath Olly's window, whispering to each other over his winsome, baby ways. Days and mon law schools, they have not been careful, nor perhaps willing, enough to scan very closely whether they really apply to a Government such as ours? Is such a scrutiny not too great a task under the circumstances? What, lask, has led to the fearful enlargement of the judi-

cial powers of that court, except their heedless following the decisions of English admiralty courts? Would not a little reading of the many questions which, for centuries, have filled the old German federal courts, have been more useful? Oh, but neither our judges nor our lawyers read German!

Has it never occurred to you, Mr. Editor, and I, met for the first time since the doctor that our Revolution was an anti-English rebel.

lawyers read German!

Has it never occurred to you, Mr. Editor, that our Revolution was an anti-English rebellion, and that our institutions are, if they are anything, protests against "English liberty" and "English institutions?" Wherein does the excellence of our institutions lie—in the parts which we copied from England, or in those in which we did not? Is it not a self-contradicting term to talk of "that form of Government which George Washington founded," and, in the same breath, talk of an "English tendency" towards it? By the by, will some erudite historian furnish us with Washington's form of Government?

Twas a bright summer day when Celia, Benny, and I, met for the first time since the doctor came to see us. We looked from the open window, out on the green fields, gemmed with vellow butter-cups; saw the sunlight dance over the tall grain, but we were not glad. There we stood, gazing on each other's emacinated faces, nover speaking. Little Olly, who had been almost well, was again sick, and there was no hope! "Tis terrible to die, and leave this beautiful world," said Benny; and fell on my neck, weeping piteously.

'Twas very still in the sick chamber—not a sound reached us. By and by the door opened, and a slow and muffled tread approached.

ists, with the prejudices of the mother country to lead them astray. She had boldly broke the shell of the egg, and stood up in a world's broad daylight, with no part of the shell stick-Nationalities and races are but too apt to

look for good only within themselves, and to look down upon other nationalities and races with disdain. The Spanish used to strut the public stage the proudest, but they have handed over their parts to the still prouder English. Do not think that I am about to fall into the same error with the Germans. No. I do but desire to say a few (I trust they will be deemed humble enough) words, with a view to remind the liberal-minded men of America that it does hurt a reflective German, to see, in our papers

and magazines, the many evidences that England, and England only, is looked to as the cradle of the United States; and that, from mere laziness to reflect, they reject the history,

First Recollections. "Beings of ethereal birth. What dust-stained traveller on life's road has not strained his eyes betime to catch a

thropist of Boston-a lady, whose genius and mystic boundary, ever and anon, in the mist the manifestations of thy manly intellect in shadow. It is true that petty griefs, and not joys, make their first impress on our minds; and yet not strange, for when we came, pure, brown hair! we not little vessels, to be filled with gladness And we remembered not the in-pourings of our natural aliment; but when, by accident, these

flowed in a muddy stream, the rough current First, back in life's journey, I tarried at the death-bed of my little brother Olly. The misty indistinctness of babyhood was fast passing away; and I, a lisper of monosyllables, was beginning to treasure up passing events, when death first crossed my father's threshold. There were four of us then—Celia, the eldest; my darling Benny, the sharer of all my joys and sorrows; little Oliver, or Olly, as we used to call him, made, with myself, the quartette. Olly had almost finished his second year; beautiful child, very fair, with deep blu like little wells, and soft, vellow bair. He wa the joy and pet of the house. How we chil dren loved to stroke his velvet cheeks, and toy with his little snow-white, dimpled hands From how many a household has such a vision passed away! God sends them to earth to nake us wiser and better. They are guide boards to Heaven. There is nothing of God's creation so beautiful, so worthy of homage, so like his own image, as the form of a fair young child. Beauty in its highest realization, with lips free from guile, a heart unspotted, pure from the hands of its Maker—who does not love a little child? There is no confidence like a child's confidence; 'tis actuated by no world-ly motive—pure, unselfish. Who has not felt a throb of delight at the words of affection, lisped with infantile accent; for who can measure a heart better than a guileless child! and who has not felt his self-esteem abated, when the same innocence has repulsed his caresses But ah! who has not beheld, with deep sorrow the first scar from the world's touch on that same young heart! Can we not all remember the first great sin of our childhood? Perchance a blow struck; an unkind word spoken to father or mother; and ah! surely there clings to every conscience the first falsehood! 'Twas then the stamp of Godhead fled from us, and

we left forever behind us our guileless purity.

Deep in shadow, in that mystic land, lie such waymarks before my mind's eye. The hand that pens these lines was once raised in anger over the head of my darling Benny! O, what bitter agony followed that blow! How stealth-ily I crept, at midnight, to his room, to ask forgiveness; for strange fancies troubled me in the night hours, and I feared lest the morning might be too late. But we loved each other and played together years after, and the little difference was well nigh forgotten; yet when the eye ceased its glances, and the lips their words of affection, and his form lay shrouded in its coffin, then the bitter remembrance of that moment pierced me like an arrow. With his dear image in my heart clung also to my conscience that one blow. For months and years over it was dropped the silent tear-aye.

and even now the mist gathers!

But a yet darker cloud hangs over another childhood landmark. To my conscience there still clings the first falsehood. In a dark corner of the garret, mouldy and worm-eaten, lies the map, whose defacing I had not the moral courage to confess. "Twas done by chance," suggested one to the inquiring parent; but he shook his head, and, in a few moments, sadly left us, to be gone a long, long while. I wanguilty thing—but when, at night, I "lay me down to eleop," and tried to repeat my nursery prayer, and was alone, in darkness, with my Maker, 'twas more than I could bear, and I hastened to pour into my mother's ear my child-ish confession. Many, many times since, when tempted by trying emergencies to a like devi-ation, the remembrance of that night's experience has kept me in the path of truth. Aye, and when, grown to womanhood, in rummaging in the dark attic, the offending parchment came to light, my cheeks tingled with shame. Let the sorrowful remembrances pass; around Olly's death bed the golden clouds hover. A malignant fever found its way to our village, and Olly was its first victim. We children missed the toy of our sports; we could not play, and we idled the hours sadly away

Government which George Washington founded," and, in the same breath, talk of an "English tendency" towards it? By the by, will some erudite historian furnish us with Washington's form of Government?

Do not understand me as deprecating the reading of English law or English books—no, that would indeed be wrong. But do understand me as opposing one sided reading, and making the English Government our model.

Our Government was constructed, as the debates prove, by taking into consideration the whole range of governmental experience; and it is for that reason, and that alone, that the United States Constitution stands so proudly as the monument of our age and collected wis dom. little dimples in the snow-white hands, less deep, to be sure, and the same velvet softness to the somewhat sunken cheek. Grandfather closed his blue eyes, and they laid him in his little ceffin, with the dimpled hands resting on muslin folds. When the first soil fell, grandfather murmured, "It is not my Benny!" "Not my Benny," echoed !! "Not so," said the sor-rowing parents. That little, wan, cold form, was to them the Benny of my grandfather's

child diffuses through a household. A father or mother is taken away, and selfishness dic-tates a deeper agony. We want not only their daily endearments, but we miss the anticipa-tion of our little wants, the lightening of all our cares. These can never be to us father or mother again. A playmate, brother or sister, departs, and it is as if our right hand were gone. We cherish fondly for years every little remembrancer, and touch, with full eyes, the garments they used to wear.

But let a little infant pass away-we do not But let a little infant pass away—we do not learn and England only, is looked to as the cradle of the United States; and that, from mere laziness to reflect, they reject the history, the lessons, the deep humanity, and the great learning of a nation, whose humble pride it is to be the granary of a world's knowledge.

Tuisko.

But let a little infant pass away—we do not weep, all the day long, as for beloved parents, nor yet indulge in occasional bursts of grief, as for playmates lost; but an ever-present sadness, a slight choking sensation, remind us that something we loved is gone—a feeling akin to that momentary sensation we experience when a little rose-bud, whose opening we have long been watching, is broken off by the wind, or its tiny petals married by a worm.

We miss, in the mother's arms, the sparkling ever and haby laugh—we miss on the carriet. eyes and baby laugh—we miss, on the carpet, the crowing infant and its scattered playthings. The sadness increases, the choking sensation grows stronger, and, one after another, silent tears trickle down for the lost infant.

So it was when Olly was gone; but Benny was left us, and the merry laugh soon rang glimpse of the goal from whence he started? Behind fixed scenes and firm impressions, there lies in the mind a vague and dreary realm, whence start up half-filled landscapes and skeleton forms. But here and there remembrance finds, in first early joys or sorrows, a side, in the sanctuary, at home, abroad, stranger of the contract the during hed of the contract the sanctuary, at home, abroad, stranger at the contract the contract the sanctuary, at home, abroad, stranger at the contract the sanctuary at home, abroad, stranger at the contract the sanctuary at home, abroad, stranger at the contract the sanctuary at home, abroad, stranger at the contract the sanctuary at home, abroad, stranger at the contract the sanctuary at home, abroad, stranger at the contract the sanctuary at home and the merry laugh soon ranger again. Dear little Benny, good and beautiful; how can thy loving sister find words to portray the image of thee, engraven on her heart? a brother or sister, or the last look of a fond real beauty. Thy little winsome kindnesses mother. So, when in retrospect I reach that are still fresh in the minds of thy schoolmates and darkness, my straining eyes catch a glimpse of some well-defined objects. But the sight of these fills me with sadness, for, though a few friends. But the breach thou didst leave in golden clouds hover round, they mostly lie in the household, we pass it over. Thy tried lit-

THE GEAVE OF THE FALLEN.

"A GIRL LOST!" BY HELEN L. BOSTWICK Still and cold the spow is lying. White the wintry sunbeams glow Where a heart, at rest from sighing, Stiller, colder, lies below Tis a heart too early laden With life's withering woe and care ; And the bright locks of a maiden,

That with Death are sleeping there But the snow-rift o'er her pillow Bears no footstep's lingoring token And the long arms of the willow Wear their pearly gems unbroken. Wherefore doth sweet Friendship scorn her. In her dwelling dark and lone Whorefore hath no sorrowing mourne

Once, the ice gem was not brighter Than her brow's unshadowed scroll; Nor the snow-rift parer, whiter, Than the tablet of her soul. Then kind faces clustered round her

In a vine-wreathed cottage nest; Then Affection's bright links bound her, With a spell of peace and rest. But one night came Death and Sorrow, When her white-haired sire was taken;

Yet, upon a darker morrow, Were those sweet eyes doomed to waken Ere spring came, her gentle mother Slept beside the life-love dead; Then the bright-lipped, manly brother, Who would "work for all," he said.

Had'st thou died too, pallid griever, Watching by thy dead alone, Wildering words of the deceiver Never should thy ear have known Had the child-heart of the mourner Broken in its spotless bloom, Never finger of the scorner Had been pointed at her tomb.

But how fared the orphan lonely, And her little sisters two: Save a dark-eved stranger only. There were none that thought or knew But so generous was the stranger, And so gentle was his eye-Ah! how could she dream of danger When that noble form was by

But, alas! the weary winter, When the stranger came no more Want and Cold-she saw them enter, Hideous, at her cottage door. She had sought in vain for labor; Leave to toil for bread and wood;

But there was no friend nor neighbo That for toil would give her food! One wild eve-the gusts were swelling Fiercely, through the caverned air Hush! a voice is in her dwelling, And a step beside her chair!

Ah! too well her heart remembers

Sweetest sounds the ear can know Ah! 'twas not the dying embers Lent her cheek so rich a glow Colder grew the hearth, and colder Grew the thin clasped hands above For that hour the stranger told her Of his wealth and of his love !

Wildly beat the heart, that parting,

Loved ones cried for bread in vain How those shivering infants plead Still one bitter, blackened morrow, By that hearth were fire and bread And that soul of love and meekness

In an evil hour of trust.

In an evil hour of weakness, Drooped its plumage in the dust. Summer brought its roses, springing Gaily round her cottage door ; And the nested varblers singing. But she never nursed them more. Autumn came, with black clouds were O'er a new and narrow sod; And the broken heart was sleeping,

And the spirit was with God!

Edinburgh, Ohio, December, 1853.

THE NEBRASKA BILL.

In Senate, Monday, January 30, 1854.

proceeded to the consideration of the organize the Territory of Nebraska.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, proposed, on Tuesday last, that the Senate should proceed to the consideration of the bill to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kanzas, it was my purpose only to occupy ten or fifteen minutes in explanation of its provisions. I desired to refer to two points; first, as to those provisions relating to the Indians, and, second, to those which might be supposed to bear upon the question of Slavery.

The committee, in drafting the bill, had in view the great anxiety which had been expressed by some members of the Senate to propressed by some members of the Senate to protect the rights of the Indians, and to prevent

infringement upon them. By the provisions of the bill, I think we have so clearly succeeded in that respect, as to obviate all possible objec-tion upon that score. The bill itself provides that it shall not operate upon any of the rights of the lands of the Indians, nor shall they be tion upon that score. The bill itself provides that it shall not operate upon any of the rights of the lands of the Indians, nor shall they be included within the limits of those Territories, until they shall, by treaty with the United States, expressly consent to come under the operations of the not, and be incorporated with-States, expressly consent to come under the operations of the net, and be incorporated within the limits of the Territories. This provision certainly is broad enough, clear enough, ex-plicit enough, to protect all the rights of the Indians, as to their persons and their property. Upon the other point-that pertaining to the

question of Slavery in the Territories, it was the intention of the committee to be equally explicit. We took the principles established by the Compromise Acts of 1850 as our guide, and intended to make each and every provision of the bill accord with those principles. Those measures established and rest upon the great measures established and rest upon the great principles of self-government, that the people should be allowed to decide the questions of their domestic institutions for themselves, sub-ject only to such limitations and restrictions as are imposed by the Constitution of the United States, instead of having them determined by

States, instead of having them determined by an arbitrary or geographical line.

The original bill, reported by the committee as a substitute for the bill introduced by the Senator from lowa, [Mr. Dodge.] was believed to have accomplished this object. The amendment which was subsequently reported by us was only designed to render that clear and specific, which seemed, in the minds of some, to admit of doubt and misconstruction. In some parts of the country the original substitute was deemed and construed to be an annulment or a repeal of what has been known as

then objected to the consideration of the bill, and asked for its postponement until this day, on the ground that there had not been time to

the postponement of the bill until this day. Sir, little did I suppose, at the time that I the world a document, over their own signatures, in which they agraigned me as having been guilty of a criminal betrayal of my trust, as having been guilty of an act of bad faith, and been engaged in an atrocious plot against the cause of free government. Little did I suppose that those two Senators had been guilty of such conduct, when they called upon me to grant that courtesy, to give them an opportunity of investigating the substitute reported from the committee. I have since discovered, that on that very morning, the National Era, the abolition organ in this city, contained an address, signed by certain abolition confederates, to the people, in which the bill is grossly misrepresented, in which the action of the members of the committee is grossly falsified, in which our motives are arraigned, and our characters calumnisted. And, sir, what is more, I find that should have responded to the request of those Senators in such torms as their conduct described as the Territoserved, so far as the rules of the Senate and a rg of Missouri, north of the thirty-third paralrespect for my own character would have perter of this document, of which I shall have They first provided that it should be governed much to say in the course of my argument, I by laws made by the Governor and the Judges.

a sacred pledge; as a criminal betrayal of precious rights; as part and parcel of an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region emigrants from the Old World, and free labor-ers from our own States, and convert it into a dreary region of despotism, inhabited by mas-

A SENATOR. By whom is the address Mr. DOUGLAS. It is signed "S. P. Chase, Senator from Ohio : Charles Sumner, Senator

covered by the positive prohibition of 1820, sussequired from Mexico, povered by no prohibition except that of disputed constitutional or Mexican law, and that the Compromises of 1850 require the incorporation of the pro-slavery clauses of the Utah and New Mexico bill in the Nebraska act, are mere inventions, designed to cover up from public reprehension meditated bad faith"

"Mere inventions to cover up bad faith."

Then there is a postecript added, equally offensive to myself, in which I am mentioned denounced. That address, sir, hears date Sunday, January 22, 1854. Thus it appears that, day, January 22, 1834. Thus it appears that, on the holy Sabbath, while other Senators were engaged in attending divine worship, these Abolition confederates were assembled in secret conclave, plotting by what means they should deceive the people of the United States, and prostrate the character of brother Senators. This was done on the Sabbath day, and by a set of politicians, to advance their own political and ambitious purposes, in the name

exposition of the question, by which they might exposition of the question, by which they might facilitate the passage of the resolutions through that Legislature. Hence you find that, on the same morning that this document appears over the names of these confederates in the Abolition organ of this city, the same document appears in the New York papers—certainly in the Tribune, Times, and Evening Post—in which it is stated, by authority, that it is "signed by the Senators and a majority of the Representatives from the State of Ohio—a statement which I have every reason to believe was utterly false, and known to be so at the time that these confederates appended it to the address. It was necessary, in order to carry out this work of deception, and to hasten the acthis work of deception, and to hasten the ac-tion of the Ohio Legislature, under a misap-prehension, to state that it was signed, not only by the Abolition confederates, but by the whole Whig representation, and a portion of the Democratic representation in the other House,

from the State of Ohio. Mr. CHASE. Mr. President.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I do not ship, even after that document had been utter-ed—who could get up in the Senate and appeal to my courtesy in order to get time to give the document a wider circulation before its infamy could be exposed-such a Senator has no right to my courtesy upon this floor.
Mr. CHASE. Mr. President, the Senator

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I decline o yield the floor. Mr. CHASE. And I shall make my denial pertinent when the time comes.
The PRESIDENT. Order.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Sir, if the Senator does interpose, in violation of the rules of the Senate, a denial of the fact, it may be that I shall be able to nail that denial, as I shall the statements here which are over his own signature, as a base falsehood, and prove it by the solemn legislation of this country.

Mr. CHASE. I call the Senator to order.

The PRESIDENT. The Senator from Illi iois is certainly out of order. Mr. DOUGLAS. Then I will only say that shall confine myself to this document, and

prove its statements to be false by the legisla tion of the country. Certainly that is in order Mr. CHASE. You cannot do it. Mr. DOUGLAS. The argument of this man ifesto is predicated upon the assumption that the policy of the fathers of the Republic was ment or a repeal of what has been known as the Missouri Compromise, while in other parts it was otherwise construed. As the object of the committee was to conform to the principles established by the Compromise Measures of 1850, and to carry those principles into effect in the Territories, we thought it was better to recite in the bill precisely what we understood to have been accomplished by those measures, viz: that the Missouri Compromise, having been superseded by the legislation of 1850, has become inoperative; and hence we propose to leave the question to the people of the States and the Territories, subject only to the limitations and provisions of the Constitution.

Sir, this is all that I intended to say, if the Sir, this is all that I intended to say, if the the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 were article, which prohibited Slavery.

rences have transpired which compel me to go
more fully into the discussion. It will be borne

Then, sir, you find upon the statute books,
under Washington and the early Presidents, in mind that the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Chase] provisions of law showing that in the southwestern Territories the right to hold slaves was clearly implied or recognised, while in the northwest Territories it was prohibited. The on the ground that there had not been time to understand and consider its provisions; and only conclusion that can be fairly and honestly the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Sumner] the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Sumner] drawn from that legislation is, that it was the suggested that the perspectage state that the perspectage state of the Richard of the Richard Senators around me, I yielded to their request, and consented to the postponement of the bill until this day.

Then, by that act, the Missouri Compromise was extended indefinitely westward, so far as the State of Texas went, that is, to the Richard Inc. They are precise words? I del Norte is the time ported from the committee were contained in the Richard Inc. They are not the postponement of the bill until this day. make that line correspond, as near as might be, to the laws of climate, of production, and granted that act of courtesy to those two Sena-tors, that they had drafted and published to control the institution, and make it either de-sirable or undesirable to the People inhabiting the respective Territories.

Sir, I wish you to bear in mind, too, that this geographical line, established by the founders of the Republic between free Territories and slave Territories, extended as far westward as our territory then reached; the object being to avoid all agitation upon the Slavery ques-tion by settling that question forever, as far as our Territory extended, which was then to the to avoid all agitation upon the Slavery ques-

Mississippi river. When, in 1803, we acquired from France the territory known as Louisiana, it became necessary to legislate for the protection of the inhabitants residing therein. It will be seen, by looking into the bill establishing the Territorial Government in 1805 for the Territory of New Orleans, embracing the same country now there was a postscript added to the address, published that very morning, in which the principal amendment reported by the committee was set out, and then coarse epithets applied that the Territory of New Orleans was to be to me by name. Sir, had I known those facts a slaveholding Territory, by making that extended that act of indulgence, I should have responded to the request of those to form what was then called the Territory of Louisiana, subsequently known as the Territolel, they used different language. They did not extend the Ordinance of 1787 to it at all. and, when in 1812 Congress gave to that Terwill read certain passages:

"We arraign this bill as a gross violation of ritory, under the name of the Territory of Missouri, a Territorial Government, the people were allowed to do as they pleased upon subject of Slavery, subject only to the limita-Now, what is the inference from that legisla-tion?* That Slavery was, by implication, rec-ognised south of the thirty-third parallel; and north of that the people were left to exercise their own judgment and do as they pleased upon the subject, without any implication for or against the existence of the institution.

This continued to be the condition of the

ward Wade, Representatives from Ohio; Gerrit Smith, Representative from New York; Alexander De Witt, Representative from Massachusetts"—including, as I understand, all the Abolition party in Congress.

Then, speaking of the Committee on Territories, these confederates use this language:

"The pretences, therefore, that the Territory, covered by the positive prohibition of 1820, sustained by the positive prohibition of 1820, sustained by the positive prohibition of 1820, sustained by the country in the Missouri Territory up to 1820, when the celebrated act which is now called the Missouri Compromise act was passed. Slavery did not exist in, nor was it excluded from the country now known as Nebraska. There was no code of laws upon the subject of Slavery either way: First, for the reason that Slavery had never been introduced into Louisiana, and established by positive enactment. It Slavery either way: First, for the reason that Slavery had never been introduced into Louisi-ana, and established by positive enactment. It had grown up there by a sort of common law and been supported and protected. When a common law grows up, when an institution be-comes established under a usage, it carries it so far as that usage actually goes, and no further. If it had been established by direct enactment, it might have carried it so far as as it may, by the act of 1812, creating the Territory of Missouri, that Territory was al-"Mere inventions to cover up bad faith." lowed to legislate upon the subject of Slavery as it saw proper, subject only to the limitations "Servile demagogues may tell you that the which I have stated; and the country not in-Union can be maintained only by submitting habited or thrown open to settlement was se spart as Indian country, and rendered subject to Indian laws. Hence, the local legislation of the State of Missouri did not reach into that by name. The address goes on to make an appeal to the Legislatures of the different States, to public meetings, and to ministers of the Gospel in their pulpits, to interpose and arrest the vile conduct which is about to be consummated by the Senators who are thus deponded. That address is been detailed in Name of Missouri did not reach into that Indian country, but was excluded from it by the Indian code and Indian laws. The municipal regulations of Missouri could not gothere until the Indian title had been extinguished, and the country thrown open to settlement. Such being the case, the only legislation in that the Missouri act passed, namely, the 6th of March. 1820, was a provision, in effect, that the people should be allowed to do as they pleased upon the subject of Slavery.

The Territory of Missouri baving been left in that legal condition, positive opposition was made to the bill to organize a State Government, with a view to its admission into the Union; and a Sanator from my State. Mr.

Union; and a Senator from my State, Mr. Jesse B. Thomas, introduced an amendment, Jesse B. Thomas, introduced an amendment, Mr. Mason, of Virginia.

I repeat, that in order to rebut the presumpliberate falsification of the public statutes and But this is not all. It was understood from the newspapers that resolutions were pending before the Legislature of Ohio, proposing to express their opinions upon this subject. It was necessary for these confiderates to get up some of the bull to establish the boundary of the public statutes and the public records.

Trepast, that in order to rebut the presumption, as I before stated, that the Missouri Combine was abandoned and superseded by the promise was abandoned and superseded by the principles of the Compromise of 1850, these confederates cite the following amendments, necessary for these confiderates to get up some offered to the bill to establish the boundary of the public records.

to go back to the original policy of prescribing Texas and create the Territory of New Mexico boundaries to the limitation of free institutions and of slave institutions, by a geographical line, in order to avoid all controversy in Congress upon the subject? Hence they extended that geographical line through all the territory purchased from France, which was as far as

"Provided, That nothing herein contained to impair or qualify any thing contained in the third article of the section of the joint resolution for annexing Texas to the United States, approved March 1, our possessions then reached. It was not sim-ly to settle the question on that piece of coun-States that may hereafter be formed out of the ry, but it was to carry out a great principle, State of Texas, or otherwise." extending that dividing line as far west as Missouri act, now called the Missouri Compro- ute, and, if produced, would conclusively dis

go, whenever new purchases should be made. Thus stood the question up to 1845, when the joint resolution for the annexation of Texas passed. There was inserted in that a provision, suggested in the first instance, and brought because of the presumption is said to be overthrown. I will now proceed to show that presumption could not go further than is exhibited in this suggested in the first instance, and brought be-fore the House of Representatives by myself, extending the Missouri Compromise line indefinitely westward through the territory of Texas. country that far. I will here read that clause promise line did apply, was incorporated into the Joint resolution for the annexation of the Territory of New Mexico. And then what Texas. It is the third article, second section, was done? It was incorporated into that Territory of New Mexico. and is in these words:

"New States, of convenient size, not exceedof Texas, having sufficient population, may received into the Union, with or without Slahereafter, by the consent of said State, be formed out of the territory thereof, which shall time of its adoption." be entitled to admission under the provisions of the Federal Constitution. And such States as may be formed out of that portion of said was to be free by the Missouri Compromise, territory, lying south of 36 deg. 30 min. north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri line; incorporates it into the Territory of New Compromise line, shall be admitted into the Mexico; and then says that the Territory, and Union with or without Slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire.

And in such State or States as shall be formed

What else does it do? The sixth section of out of said territory north of said Missouri Compromise line, Slavery or involuntary servi-tude (except for crime) shall be prohibited." It will be seen that that contains a very re-

markable provision, which is, that when States lying north of 36 deg. 30 min. apply for admission, Slavery shall be prohibited in their concan bill, from which they make that quotation, stitutions. I presume no one pretends that contained the provision that New Mexico, in-Congress could have power thus to fetter a cluding that part of Texas which was cut off. State applying for admission into this Union: but it was necessary to preserve the principle of the Missouri Compromise line, in order that time, that the Territorial Legislature should it might afterwards be extended, and it was supposed that while Congress had no power to very that they had over any other subject, reimpose any such limitation, yet, as that was a stricted only by the limitation of the Constitu compact with the State of Texas, that State tion of the United States and the provisions of could consent for herself, that, when any por-tion of her own territory, subject to her own control, applied for a Constitution, it should be in a particular form; but that off from Texas? Do they not annul it? provision would not be binding on the new they not supersede it? If they do, then the State one day after it was admitted into the address which has been put forth to the world States as should lie south of 36 deg. 30 min. If they do not, then what do they mean when should come into the Union with or without they charge me with having, in the substitute Slavery, as each should decide, in its Constitution. Then, by that act, the Missouri Compro- with having annulled it, with having violated We recognised, in many ways, and among them by even paying Texas for it, in order does, it had already been done before by the that it might be included in and form a portion act of 1850; for these words were copied from of the Territory of New Mexico.

Then, sir, in 1848, we acquired from Mexico the country between the Rio del Norte and again? the Pacific Osean. Immediately after that acquisition, the Senate, on my own motion, voted into a bill a provision to extend the Missouri Compromise indefinitely westward to the Pacific Ocean, in the same sense and with the same understanding with which it was originally defeated there by Northern votes.

Now, sir, let us pause and consider for a mo ment. The first time that the principles of the hood in order to sustain the other assertion. Missouri Compromise were ever abandoned, the first time they were ever rejected by Congress, was by the defeat of that provision in the House of Representatives in 1848 By whom was that defeat effected? By Northern votes with Free Soil proclivities. It was the defeat of that Missouri Compromise that reopened the Slavery agitation with all its fury. It was the defeat of that Missouri Compromise that created the tremendous struggle of 1850. It was the defeat of that Missouri Compromise that created the necessity for making a new compromise in 1850. Had we been faithful to the principles of the Missouri Compromise in 1848. it that was faithless? I undertake to say it for another reason: The same section contain was the very men who now insist that the Missouri Compromise was a solemn compact, and should never be violated or departed from. should never be violated or departed from.

Every man who is now assailing the principle fore, relate to the country cutoff. What did it reof the bill under consideration, so far as I am late to? Why, it meant simply this: By the advised, was opposed to the Missouri Compromise in 1848. The very men who now arraign me for a departure from the Missouri Comprout of the right to form four additional States as were out of their territory; and such States as were mise are the men who successfully violated it, by the Compromise measures of 1850. Sir, it is such State or States as were north of that is with rather bad grace that the men who proved false themselves should charge upon me had cut off all north of 36 deg 30 min, and and others, who were ever faithful, the respon-

Then, sir, as I before remarked, the defeat of Then, sir, as I before remarked, the defeat of the Missouri Compromise in 1848 having cre-not four, it will be argued. Why? Because the ated the necessity for the establishment of a new one in 1850, let us see what that Compro-

The leading feature of the Compromise of 1850 was Congressional non-intervention as to three additional States under the circumscribed Slavery in the Territories; that the people of boundary. the Territories, and of all the States, were to be allowed to do as they pleased upon the sub-ject of Slavery, subject only to the provisions explicitly understood what was the meaning of

That, sir, was the leading feature of the Comromise Measures of 1850. Those measures, herefore, abandoned the idea of a geographi- number of States or otherwise; that is, that and slave States-abandoned it because compelled to do it from an inability to maintain would have been entitled to under her larger t-and, in lieu of that, substituted a great boundaries; and those States shall come in principle of self-government, which would allow the people to do as they thought proper. Now, the question is, when that new Compromise, resting upon that great fundamental principle of freedom, was established, was it proposition. Any other construction of it would not an abandonment of the old one—the geo-graphical line? Was it not a supersedure of mover, the Senator from Virginia. Such, then, the old one, within the very language of the substitute for the bill which is now under conist the legal effect of the law; and I say that no substitute for the bill which is now under con-sideration? I say it did supersede it, because it applied its provisions as well to the north as to the south of 36 deg. 30 min. It established a principle which was equally applicable to the effect of that law. ountry north as well as south of the parallel Then I submit to the Senate if I have not ocuntry north as well as south of the parallel of 36 deg. 30 min.—a principle of universal application. The authors of this Abelition manifesto attempted to refute this presumption, and maintain that the Compromise of 1850 did not supersede that of 1820, by quoting the provise to the first section of the act to establish the Texan boundary, and establish the Texan boundary and establish the Texan boundary, and establish the the Texan boundary and establish t Mr. Mason, of Virginia.

Wm. Alcorn, 826 Lombard street Philadelphia. G. W. Light, 8 Cornbill, Boston. J. A. Innis, Salem, Massachusetts. Calob H. Wells, Worcester, Massachusetts.

"Provided, That nothing herein contained

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After quoting this proviso, they make the our territory went, and running it onward on following statement, and attempt to gain credit each new acquisition of territory. True, the for its truth by suppressing material facts express enactment of the eighth section of the which appear upon the face of the same stat-

mise act, only covered the territory acquired from France; but the principles of the act, the objects of its adoption, the reasons in its support, required that it should be extended indefinitely westward, so far as our territory might and yet, in the face of this declaration, that

They suppress the following material facts mitely westward through the territory of Texas.
Why did I bring forward that proposition? statement. They first suppress the fact that Why did the Congress of the United States adopt it? Not because it was of the least prac- and cedes to the United States, all that part of tical importance, so far as the question of Sla- Texas which lies north of 36 deg. 30 min. They very within the limits of Texas was concerned; then suppress the further fact that the same for no man ever dreamed that it had any prac- section of the law cuts off from Texas a large tical effect there. Then why was it brought forward? It was for the purpose of preserving the principle, in order that it might be extended still further westward, even to the Pacific ocean, whenever we should acquire the from Texas, and to which the Missouri Com

ritory with this clause:
"That, when admitted as a State, the said ing four in number, in addition to said State Territory, or any portion of the same, shall be

Yes, sir, the very bill and section from which they quote, cuts off all that part of Texas which together with some on the south side of the the same act provides that the legislative power and authority of this said Territory of New Mexico shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with the Constitution of should come into the Union with or without Union. The other provision was, that such by these confederates is an atrocious falsehood.

> Mr. WADE. Why did you do it over Mr. DOUGLAS. I will come to that point

presently, and explain why we did it over veracity of a combination of men, who have assembled in secret caucus upon the Sabbatl day to arraign my conduct and belie my character. I say, therefore, that their manifesto is a slander either way; for it says that the Missouri Compromise was not superseded by the measures of 1850, and then it says that it. They must be adjudged guilty of one false

Now, sir, I propose to go a little further, and these gentlemen have manufactured so much capital in the newspaper press, and have suc ceeded by that misrepresentation in procuring an expression of opinion from the State of Rhode Island in opposition to this bill. I will

state what its meaning is. Did it mean that the States north of 36 dec 30 min. should have a clause in their Constitu it did not mean that, because the same act rinciples of the Missouri Compromise in 1848, says that they might come in with Slavery, i they saw proper. I say it could not mean that out of their territory; and such States as were south of 36 deg. 30 min. were to come in with or without Slavery, as they saw proper; and how many States will Texas be entitled to ur original resolution of annexation provided that of 36 deg. 30 min. It would leave it, then, doubtful whether Texas was entitled to two or

In order to put that matter to rest, in order Congress, the Senator from Virginia offered the amendment that nothing therein contained should impair that provision, either as to the Texas should be entitled to the same number of States with her reduced boundaries as she

SEE FOURTH PAGE